Puberty

[84] 881 Menstruation was called paiya´h·n (pai´ya, blood; lit., "to be blooding"). A little ceremony was made for a girl at the termination of her first menses. J.A. recognized her own puberty as neglected due to disrupted native life; however, her mother made "a little party" for her after her first menstrual period. She was washed, and dressed with beads and earrings for the first time. She abstained from meat throughout the ensuing month and for six days of her next period. Then she was washed with a decoction of "some kind of weeds" and was permitted to eat meat. She was informed that to eat meat at this time would cause a hard ball to grow in her abdomen and that, if she attempted to steal meat to eat in secret, she would die. J.A. regretted that she had not been sent out to swim at night as part of her puberty training or taught "to mind her dreams" as she should have been.

Marriage

584 591 A young man went to a girl's house and remained there if she accepted him. For about a year he hunted and helped his father-in-law. Then the couple removed to his parents' home, where, if there was room, they remained permanently. The function of the moiety in marriage is discussed under "Social Organization."

582 613 The lineage was primarily a nuclear exogamous group and secondarily, the moiety. Though it was usual to marry without one's moiety it was not compulsory, as is evidenced by the genealogies. No cousin marriage was permitted, and a couple known to be remotely related could not marry without unfavorable comment.

On Tachi marriages and affinal usages Gifford has some remarks.

[606] The term nukatmin means "my relation." Mother-in-law and father-in-law tabus were in force. There was also a partial tabu against a man talking to the wife of any man he called agas (mother's brother, mother's brother's son, etc.). Cross cousin marriage was not practiced, though it was said that anciently it was and that a man might marry either his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter. I have no genealogical evidence to support this statement.

Death

764 [152] The Tachi informant had lost a grandson about a year before my visit and wept when mourning ceremonies were discussed, although the child's mother, one of the interpreters, showed no outward distress. Consequently no information on death or burial was obtained from the Tachi or Chunut informants, beyond the

321 412 Deer bone awls (poa''uk, M.L.; ap''up, M.P.) were wanted by all women who made baskets and, as there was no tabu on their use for any convenient purpose, others owned them as well. About three sizes were wanted, ranging from 3 to 6 inches.[194] They were made by men from deer fibulae (see pl. 1, floor center).

324 412 An assortment of obsidian blades, also made by and bought from men, was wanted for cutting meat, scraping foodstuffs and basketry materials, and cutting hide.

428 [584] 285 431 Women came by these possessions in a variety of ways. When a boy's family approached a girl's family with betrothal gifts, a burden basket was frequently included as this was an object of value and a type which a young girl could not make for herself. By the time she was betrothed, however, a girl usually had already made herself smaller twined and coiled ware of the seed-beater, winnowing tray, and sieve types. Her mother or aunts (of either side of family) would make her additional baskets, particularly the twined cooking basket.

428 [764] [437] Girls or women inherited from their mothers many of these household utensils; but it was said that "there weren't so many of these" (M.L.) by the time a few things had been put with the corpse and the rest were divided between daughters and claimed by the mother's sisters. Again it was impossible to formulate a rule whereby these objects were gotten or inherited. Women bought utensils and tools from each other and also from men. A woman's husband was expected to supply her with meat and skins. The latter included deerskin for the dress apron and, if the man were a poor hunter and could not procure them himself, he might even buy the deerhoofs used as a decorative fringe on the apron.

Medicines

757 278 The two plants used for poisoning fish (yaoha and tadad) were also used medicinally. The first, for chills or headache, was mashed in a poultice; the second was boiled for use as a steam bath for chills or to soothe the vaginal tract after childbirth.[195] Neither plant was actively poisonous as fish stupefied by them did not need any special treatment before being eaten.

Black paint (ka'di'an) was mixed with grease as a salve. It was applied to sore

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[194] Thirteen awls collected by Dr. Barrett from Michahai, Cheinimni, and Chukchansi territory, now in the University of California, Museum of Anthropology, range in size from 3 inches (1-10839) to 7 inches (1-3997). Three unfinished awls from Drum Valley (probably Chukaimina or Michahai) are 5 3/8, 5 1/2, and 7 3/4 inches (1-10850, 1-10838, 1-10837).

[171] [195] The Miwok used vinegar weed (Trichostema lanceolatum Benth.) as a steam treatment for "uterine trouble" (Barrett and Gifford, 174).

601 cousin) had no special term but were all lumped as ṭa'aṭi (relatives).

A stepparent was called, according to sex, by the term for father's brother or mother's sister regardless of whether he actually was such or not. When it was necessary to distinguish a related stepparent from a blood uncle or aunt the word ni''udi (another) was added; thus, ni''udi komo´d:s (another father's [587] brother). The levirate was of frequent occurrence, the sororate known but less common. A stepparent addressed his stepchildren by the usual terms for offspring, although it was said he more often applied the general term a´h:t (child), which was used by true parents for their children too. Step-grandparents were addressed by the regular grandparent terms.

The word no´či (male friend) was used by a man for his wife's sister's husband. This was a general term for friend and was used rather indiscriminately. (It was used mutually between most informants and myself.) The word ta´naič (female friend) was used by a woman for her husband's brother's wife. It applied only to women and was used between M.L. and myself.

Puberty

881 During her first, second, and third menses, a girl ate only "soft food" (acorn and seed mushes) and drank only warm water. She did not retire to a separate hut, nor was the warm pit used. She was equipped with an old breechclout in which was a layer of shredded willow bark: the bark was buried as it needed replacing, and the clout washed. A scratching stick, which M.L. said was "just any little twig or stick," she used to scratch her hair or body. Her mother combed her hair each day; if she touched it herself it would split. Pre-adolescent girls could not eat quail: "quail would nest in their hair if they ate quail before their [757] hair grew long" (M.L.). Poultices of hot mashed tam:k were laid on the abdomen and back to relieve menstrual pains.

881 The girl's mother invited another woman and her son to come to the house: these guests 584 remained one or two days. They brought with them gifts for the girl, perhaps a rabbitskin 431 blanket (later Spanish blankets, pinshala [sic]), [301] and beads which they hung about the girl's neck. The woman combed the girl's hair and gave her quail-feathered ear plugs. In return the visiting pair received a large quantity of food. This little ceremony (witi lonuwis) was a kind of tacit betrothal: the boy and girl usually married eventually, but there was nothing defined, nor was there any return of gifts if they did not marry.

881 At the end of six days the girl swam in the river and resumed her normal diet. She returned to soft food and warm water during her next two periods. At ensuing periods only the

[P. 1059] Wukchumni

582 would be called hokoi ´šan yiw‹ ´nši (sister
582 marriage) and would evoke the scorn of all who
588 knew of it. J.B. spoke contemptuously of two recently married young Waksachi who are second cousins. He added that he thought "people to the north" married their cousins. No special punishment was attempted in the old days when such a marriage occurred. The parents of both participants, having done their best to prevent it by verbal argument, would not, and apparently could not, do anything more. There was [558] undoubtedly a loss of social prestige, but how far this affected the offspring of such a union cannot be said. The mere fact that informants
582 could not formulate rules for these marriages is in itself an indication that commonsense entered, according to the particular circumstances. J.B. said that such marriages "never occurred with the Wukchumni" and, while there is no genealogical evidence to prove the contrary, we can scarcely accept a complete negative. No form of "uncle" marriage was known.

582 A man could marry where he wished, within the tribe, within his own village, and even a
591 woman having the same family totem as himself, provided no recognized blood-tie existed. If he had been betrothed to a girl at her first menses, he might, were he old enough, soon seek her bed at night. But in doing so he committed himself to a serious union with the girl and to obligations in the provision of food to her
583 family. For two or three months he rose early, going for the morning bath and thence to his
591 parents' home for breakfast. During the day he would fish or hunt, taking the game to his wife's home and remaining there for the evening meal. If he did not go there he hung about the sweat house and slept there at night; this was especially true if the girl's home was already crowded.

This sojourn at the girl's home was looked upon as a temporary arrangement and rarely lasted out a year. If the girl became pregnant at once, she usually wanted to stay with her mother until her baby came (M.L.).

After that the couple moved either to the husband's home or to a house of their own. When gathering seeds, or on any other food-collecting expedition, the young wife joined her mother if it were physically possible. If she did not accompany her mother, then she did not join her mother- and sisters-in-law but attended to household tasks and helped in the preparation of the food when it was brought in.

● 584 It may appear that a young man and woman were wholly independent in their choice of a mate, and especially so in their married life. But the parents of both participants exerted strong personal influence. They frequently arranged betrothals at puberty and made every effort to see that the marriage not only took place, but continued. The parents-in-law and [601] their brothers and sisters all called each other by the reciprocal term ma ´kši from the time the betrothal took place.

584 time the betrothal took place. Whenever a rift between the couple was apparent, they sought by
578 conversation or argument with the young couple
584 to mend it. Of her own volition, or at the instigation of the man's parents, the girl's mother would scold her if the fault were the girl's, the young man's mother reprimanding her son, if he were to blame. Laziness and coquetry on the part of the girl or failure as a provider of meat and excessive gambling on the part of the man were the usual causes of trouble.

595 Two wives were not uncommon, but all in-
[554] formants agree that it was only a chief, shaman, or man of prestige who was likely to have them functioning on an equal status in the same menage. They were usually domiciled separately, but within the same village group. When a man lived with two women of separate villages, one or the other wife would be in a superior position with respect to the man's provision of food and wood and the amount of time he spent in her home and in attention to her children. A second wife was sought if the first were sterile or incapacitated by illness or age, or merely because the husband desired another feminine companion.

Three wives have been heard of, but M.L. claimed that a third wife would be resented by the first two. This opinion was undoubtedly based on the experience of her mother's brother
[579] who, having two wives, sought a third. The unfortunate prospect was severely beaten by the two wives, and their husband abandoned his courtship.

One case of polyandry was reported: M.L. said her father's sister "had two men at the same time and they all slept together." Polyandry was also known to the Entimbich; in both groups no opprobrium was attached.[544]

586 Divorce, while hindered by the coöperative pressure of the couple's parents and relatives, took place if a woman were sterile yet fought against a second wife, if either spouse were slothful, or for intolerable incompatibility. "A man didn't like a woman to be dirty or one who talked all the time" (M.L.).[545] "A woman has to keep her food baskets right" (M.P.). "A man can't gamble all his money all the time. Some things he had to buy, like a good bow to get food for his children" (M.L.).

When the couple separated, the woman took all her clothing, utensils, and bedding if she went home. Usually, when a couple separated, a man left his wife in possession of their house if it were he who was in the wrong or who wanted his freedom and if she had more than two

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[544] Merrian, The Em´-tim´-bitch, 498; cf. Park, Paviotso Polyandry; Stewart, Northern Paiute Polyandry.

[551] [545] A Wobonuch chatterbox was nicknamed Wedaws´dna (i.e., in comparable American slang, "blah-blah"); two husbands left her.

[P. 119b] Wukchumni

796
276 It was said that an evil shaman who feared dis-
787 covery through this means would try to render
754 the narcosis ineffectual, i.e., blank, and drinkers who failed to have visions always blamed this cause.

796 On the twelfth day after the ritual a general celebration took place. The children
276 dressed in their best. Fathers provided meat and fish, mothers, baskets of acorn mush. The leader, relatives, and children, "all who had anything to do with the drinking," took part. The chief made a little speech recapitulating the events and causes that led up to this literal "break fast," for none of these persons had as yet touched any meat. Even at this time those who had actually drunk tañai took only a minute piece of meat, which they invariably vomited.

796 This little feast provided an occasion for betrothal if any families cared to take ad-
● 584 vantage of it. This is the only indication
884 that the ritual was an induction into anything, and even this was only into maturity, so to say. Even this is inferential, for informants denied the ritual any formal aspect of initiation into tribal life, ceremonial participation, or even spiritual experience, for many of the drinkers already had dream helpers. The betrothal preparations were no different from those normally made by a boy's parents. On such an occasion, at the time of the feast, if one of the girls who had drunk tañai was desired as a daughter-in-law by some family, they would go to her home before the feast and array her for it with gifts which they brought. Even if the offer was accepted, the young couple would not marry at once but "waited until they were grown up" (M.P.).

276 Jimsonweed was well known as an anaes-
757 thetic. It was used both internally and as a poultice. When jimsonweed was drunk, the meat
[262] tabu was observed in so far as circumstances permitted. A twenty-four hour fast was the minimum, but two or three days were preferred. When so used, the jimsonweed was thought to have a power for healing, a quality beyond mere
[752] anaesthesia. Fractures were set and bound while the injured person was in a coma. Poultices were made of mashed leaves of the plant and tied over sprains and flesh injuries that were excruciatingly painful (see Holo'anŏi's experience, p.72).

M.L.'s first husband took jimsonweed to help severe rheumatism. His mother's sister suggested it and her husband prepared it. The sick man drank only gruel and water for six days; then he drank the decoction. He got up and walked to his aunt's house. He ran and jumped; he was led around by the arm. His head ached. He saw things flying about which terrified him. Then he took an eagle-feather brush and brushed off his aunt. When he recovered, his rheumatism had disappeared.

[P. 167 a] Kechayi

845 could see the newborn twins they had to give the parents a bit of money, to be kept for the infants, "to make them strong." If one twin died, the other was sure to die soon too. However, twins were ṭ:pni and had supernatural power if they lived to adult life. E.M. could give no idea of how this power was manifest.

Childhood

867 The training of children "just came natu-
868 ral." Girls and boys both played at activities which later became duties. Boys were given verbal instructions in the sweat house, but this was entirely informal: there was no puberty rite for boys. There was no defined "first entrance" into the sweat house; boys hung around it, played in it "until they got chased out" [by men going to sweat], and remained to sweat when they were "old enough to stand it" [fifteen to eighteen years]. The verbal instructions, given by older men, told them how to be good to their wives, to abjure intercourse during menstruation, to have a home of their own and not live with their parents-in-law, and how to respect and deal with the supernatural.

Puberty

881 A puberty ceremony (nahalaoša) was given for a girl at her first menses. There was no separate menstrual hut. The girl did no cooking, ate no meat, and used a scratching stick on her head as "her fingers were hot and her hair would fall out if she touched it." Otherwise her life was as usual. At the first menses these tabus held over a two-month period; thereafter they were observed each month for six days at the end of which the girl bathed and ate meat.

881 The actual puberty ceremony, which was
584 looked upon as a betrothal ceremony, a declaration of intentions by both families concerned, was made by a boy's mother. The parents had previously reached an agreement in the matter.

On the first new moon following the two-month tabu period, the prospective mother-in-law brought a ceremonial washing basket, new clothes, and beads to the girl's home, where she washed and clothed the girl. Then the official spokesman (yate'ič) made a speech saying that this girl "had come out all right, she was going to be healthy." Everyone in the village came to call on the girl and eat a little meat with her. The food for this was supplied by the boy's parents.

Marriage

584 When parents of a boy and girl had agreed that they wanted to become coparents-in-law

[67b] KechAy'

584 (ma'kši) and the boy's parents had made the betrothal ceremony for the girl, the girl's parents invited the boy in frequently for meals. The boy would then be twelve to fourteen years old. This continued for about a year, or until it was felt that the couple were ready to sleep together.

585 Then a marriage "party" (yewːnu'ša) was made by the girl's family at her home. Two large ceremonial baskets were brought; from water in these the lad and girl were each completely washed by some female member of the spouse's family. They donned new and ornamental clothes. This took place in the morning. A feast, provided by the girl's family, followed. During the day games were played, and in the evening doctors entertained with dancing. Circular dancing (soi'wːša) and the hand game (weːhelaoča) lasted all night. The couple slept together in the girl's home.

589 Marriage was always extra-moiety,[67] but this rule did not permit cross cousins to marry even though they were necessarily of opposite moieties. Lineage relationships on both sides of the family were the prime consideration. E.M. said sometimes cousins had [835] intercourse if the boy had no respect for the girl, but this did not lead to marriage.

595 A man often married two sisters, and "nearly all" men had relations with women in different localities (thus the common parentage of E.M. and B.W.). There was no special term to distinguish wife from mistress, and these concepts were not socially defined in Yokuts culture. Some terms of the marriage relationship are: lo'wːt (husband), yi'wːn (wife or any woman one slept with), yawːn'niš (to have intercourse), yewːnuša (marriage party or ceremony).[68] During pregnancy a man addressed his [551] wife as ga'lwat. Under normal conditions neither spouse used a vocative term of address or personal names.

606 The relations between child and parent-in-law were restricted. A man never went close to or addressed his mother-in-law, and his father-in-law he spoke to only when absolutely necessary. When he did so he used, not the term for "father-in-law" nor the father-in-law's name, but the term ma'ak. The same restrictions and form of address were used by the young wife with respect to her parents-in-law, with the sexes reversed, of course. A man 607 "treated his brother-in-law like a real brother"; they went hunting and fishing together, sharing their catch. A man addressed his sister-in-law "only to make jokes or to tell little stories [or incidents]." The same, reversed, held true for the girl. The nature of these jokes was [831] undefined; E.M. denied that they were specifically obscene.

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[67] There is one exception in the genealogies.

[68] The term also is applied to the modern legal or church ceremony.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 194 b] Chuckchansi

854 Small children went naked, but those of good family, i.e., not lazy, might have skins fixed as clothing. By the age of fourteen [177] [both sexes?] clothing was worn. It was about 1890 that European clothing was put on children.

857 Up to the age of eight or nine children played around, in and out of the house, with some, but not entire, irresponsibility. Both sexes played together in the family, even when older, but large numbers of village children tended to play in groups aligned by sex. Apparently it was the effect of numbers and the differing interests of boys and girls, rather than formality, which determined this separation. [55 60] N.W. did not know of any special, e.g., plural, form of address between the sexes.

868 Little boys of six to ten would stay at home, would help carry wood and do odd jobs for their mothers or other people at home. Little girls of that age helped care for the tiny children. Children of both sexes at about this age (six to ten) would be taken out by older boys who were hunting to pack home the load. Sometimes the woodrats, squirrels, and birds would be tied around their wrists and waists, [602] the loads would be too heavy, the rodents' fleas would bite them, and they would all cry. [593] The little ones were always relatives of the bigger ones they were helping. When a father was late getting home with food, the children would be hungry and cry.

From about ten or eleven on boys and girls were taught the useful pursuits of their fathers and mothers. A man took his son out to hunt, provided him with better weapons as he became more skillful, showed him how to care for the game they killed, make bows and arrows, and collect pine nuts. A woman showed her daughter how to pound acorns, gather seeds, berries, and dig roots. She instructed her in their uses and treatment after gathering. A girl did not learn to sift meal, a more skillful task, or to cook until she was about fourteen. The art of basketmaking was begun from about ten years on.

Parents made their children learn whether [861] they wanted to or not [by what means?]. The constant admonition was, that if they failed to learn they would go hungry in later life.

867 Old or childless persons also taught their 887 young relatives how to do things. Particularly, old people taught songs and stories.

787 Some children had dreams of supernatural significance, but normally a person did not commence shamanistic efforts until fully adult.

● 584 During these years of learning, say ten to fifteen, arrangements for marriage would be made by the parents. A girl's "bride price" would be accepted by her mother, a young man's future wife paid for by his father, and both young persons were then told of and entreated to accept the union. Actual marriage did not [582] take place until the girl was nearly twenty, however.

[P. 195 9] Chuckchansi

882 After a girl had reached adolescence, she stayed close to home or companions. Undesired sexual intercourse was feared, and the independent attentions of young men were discouraged, apparently. A girl was expected to remain in the heart of her family "until her mother-in-law came after her."

864 "The mother would tell the girl about having babies when she was small," said N.W. [Presumably the lore, so to say; there was no concealment of sex in this intimately housed society. -- A.H.G.]

Marriage

584 Arrangements for matrimony were normally made by a young man's parents. Sometimes a man could buy a baby girl for a future wife; when she matured, she would have to marry him. Shamans frequently secured women merely by threatening them with sickness or death.

A boy's family would decide upon a girl for their future daughter-in-law -- the mother's choice, usually. The girl would be the same age as the youth or a bit younger; she might be thirteen or fourteen years old. These young persons had to marry whether they wanted to or not, said N.W. (Yet her own experience makes it clear there were exceptions. Perhaps if her parents had been living, she would have had
583 to marry the man she refused.) Money and other gifts were bestowed on the girl's family by the boy's parents. By accepting or even touching these the girl bound herself to marry the young man. The average amount of money paid for a girl, whether by parents or a man acting for himself, was 20 strings of the long cylindrical beads called humna; these totaled about 120 individual beads, each string being the length of the circumference of a hand. If the girl's family wished to withdraw from the agreement before the wedding, they were expected to return the money and other gifts. However, sometimes it happened that the money could not be returned "even if they did ask, because it was already spent."

In N.W.'s case, a man had given clothes, beads, rings, and baskets for her, which her elder sister, in lieu of parents, had accepted. These N.W. refused to touch. She knew what kind of a man he was: "he had been married before and all." She would have to marry him if she had taken any of those things. The man's mother then tried to take back the things, but N.W.'s sister declined to return them claiming "it was the man's and mother's own fault, because the man had given them to Nancy, but she wouldn't take them, wouldn't touch them." Meanwhile N.W. married another man named Mike. Then the rejected man's mother came and tried

583 to take N.W. away. N.W. said "she was scared but didn't go."[193]

585 Something of a wedding ceremony took place in the form of the usual Yokuts feast. The groom's father [and presumably his male relatives] went hunting until they had a large quantity of meat. The bride's mother [and relatives ?] pounded acorn meal, cooked this and other seed foods. On the day of the celebration the groom's father brought the meat already cooked, and other gifts of beads and baskets, and in return received from the bride's mother the cooked meal and baskets. Then they all feasted, but each family ate in its own group. "Then the man would take the [591] girl to live with his mother." (J.R. said residence was matrilocal for the first year or two after marriage.)

592 When a girl married, she went to live in her husband's home: her mother-in-law came [591] after her. Thereafter the daughter-in-law was, so to say, the housekeeper in that family. Her mother-in-law devoted more time to making baskets and only occasionally assisted at pounding acorns or with other labors. The bride, if properly trained for her domestic tasks at home, was competent to assume her duties in her husband's household without directions from his mother. It was she, for example, who said when acorns were to be pounded, food gathered, and so on. When there were several daughters-in-law in one family they shared the work, but it was the young woman who had priority in marrying into the family who directed the others. The mother-in-law was always helpful, advised her daughter-in-law: "she was just like her own mother."

59 [184] Concerning residence after marriage, there was a difference of opinion; J.R. claimed that it was matrilocal. Perhaps this is a reflection of his Miwok background; perhaps both customs were followed by the Chukchansi as by other Yokuts. His information on marriage follows.

583 A girl lived with her mother, father, and old people, i.e., in the normal family group.
● 584 She would begin talking about how she would like a certain young man to come live with them. The youth's father then would bring gifts of baskets, beads, etc., [The intervening events, inferentially an understanding between the two young people, was not explained.] He would talk to the girl's mother, saying that they would like their son to live with her daughter. "That is all. They just offered some good baskets and got the girl."

591 The young man came to live with the girl in her home; they stayed there "a long time." Then perhaps they would move to live with the

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[193] The situation is not entirely clear. Evidently the suitor presented the gifts but did not reclaim them, or claim Nancy, until after she had married Mike. Yet it had been apparent from the outset that she would not accept his gifts or him.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 2359] Western Mono NS25

W Y 582 W Y [587] W ● Y ● 584 Y W 585 431 Y W 606 591 W Y [574]

Marriage

With respect to marriage, S.O. said that no type of cousin marriage was tolerated, but cousins were not "counted" beyond second cousins, sometimes third, depending on propinquity of residence; beyond third it would be "all right to marry." Both the levirate and sororate were common but not compulsory. Usually a spouse waited five or six years before remarrying; "they would die right away if they married too soon."

At Tušao the advances toward a marriage were made by a boy's parents. They talked about it, discussing suitable matches for their son. The girl must not be related in any way: cousins never married. A similar totem animal, however, was no bar to marriage. When a decision had been reached, the boy's parents (or sometimes only the father) would take a present of acorns and visit the girl's parents. They presented the gift, saying that they wanted to be makŭi (co-parents-in-law) with them and have the girl for a daughter-in-law. After a visit discussing casual affairs, they went home. About six days later (S.O. was not sure how many, "a week maybe") they went back to the girl's home. If their proposal had been accepted, they were given a little feast by the girl's parents. Then the parents consulted their children and, it was said, the couple were usually agreeable. Such arrangements were made when the children were between ten and eighteen years of age, though "a boy wasn't often so old." They did this because "they didn't like to have their children go way off to marry."

When all was settled, the makŭi exchanged gifts, which might comprise beads, baskets, acorn meal, or skins. There was no gift from the boy's family in excess of those from the girl's, "they were just even." The boy himself did not have to bring any gifts.

The boy slept with the girl in her home for about one week (S.O.). He was "bashful" and did not speak with his parents-in-law. Then the couple went to his home where they could remain if they wished, but more often they soon removed to a home of their own. The choice of residence depended largely on the space available in the boy's home. The girl returned home frequently for short visits, her husband sometimes accompanying her. She gathered seeds from her mother's seed localities. She, too, was bashful and did not talk with her parents-in-law.[373]

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[373] S.O. could give no more specific behavior between children- and parents-in-law. Although he gave some 200 personal names in genealogies, he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name. Because of his blindness he remained in her home many years after his wife's death; he spoke of these years with her with considerable affection and related a dream pertaining to her.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER 33.

THE YOKUTS: SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

Culture, 492; marriage, 492; moieties and totems, 493; chiefs and officials, 496; war, 497; money, 498; greetings, 498; birth, 498; names, 499; death and mourning observances, 499.

CULTURE.

The extinction of the northern valley tribes prevents their being included in the following account of Yokuts life, which is accordingly confined to those members of the family who live south of the Miwok, or approximately those shown in Plate 47. When such and such customs are ascribed to "the northern Yokuts," the tribes of the upper San Joaquin region are therefore referred to, notably the Chukchansi, who survive in the greatest numbers. Under "southern Yokuts" all the tribes from Kaweah River south may generally be understood, although most of the information relates to the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani. For the "central" tribes of the lake region and the sloughs of lower Kings River the Tachi may be taken as typical. It is regrettable that so little knowledge survives concerning the Yokuts of the lower San Joaquin, as their practices must have been different from those of their southerly kinsmen at many points. Living almost in contact with the Wintun and Maidu, and between the Miwok and Costanoans, it is practically certain that they shared the Kuksu and other ceremonies of the ritual system which is common to these groups and centered in the first-named stock. The Yokuts south of the San Joaquin performed ceremonies of entirely different type. This lack of similarity is probably typical of many other distinctions which can only be suspected.

MARRIAGE.

Marriage was a comparatively informal affair all the way from the Chukchansi to the Yauelmani, though payment was always made for the bride, sometimes by as high as a hundred *chok* measures of beads. A father might send his son to a prospective son-in-law of his choice, with instructions to address him as his brother-in-law. Or a man might suggest to a friend that they be *maksi*—parents of a married couple. The bridegroom would then appear, but if the girl remon-

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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strated vigorously, would probably soon depart of his own accord. If a marriage took place, the husband lived with his wife's people. This is rather remarkable in view of the fact that most and probably all the Yokuts reckoned descent paternally with reference to exogamy and totemism. As usual in loosely organized society, polygamy was not considered objectionable, but was not the common fortune of men and women, probably because there was no noteworthy excess of females. A man with several wives seems normally to have been married in as many villages, dividing his time between his various households. Kindred of any known degree of relationship, except perhaps one class of cousins, were ineligible to marriage; and, what is more interesting, accidental namesakes as well. The Yokuts state that people of the same tribe and town could marry, and this is confirmed by the parentage of old living Indians; but the vast majority of such specific records reveal marriages between people not of the same tribe. This habit is the more peculiar because the dialects of the tribes always differed somewhat; at the same time, the practice must have been a factor of some influence in preventing the rapid drifting apart of the idioms. Naturally, many of the Yokuts were bilingual; and persons knowing three or four dialects, or even distinct languages, are not rare.

Children-in-law and parents-in-law exhibit mutual shame. They avoid speaking, though inmates of the same house; walk apart; and do not even approach each other unless it is absolutely necessary.

MOIETIES AND TOTEMS.

In addition to the politically exogamic tendency, there was a strict rule requiring a man to marry outside his own inherited social division. These divisions were two, and certain animals were symbolically associated with each and transmitted from father to child and son's child. In other words, the totemic moiety system of the Miwok extends also to the Yokuts. It has been found among hill and valley tribes from the Chukchansi to the Wowol. Only the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani, and with them no doubt some of their immediate neighbors, did not possess the organization. For the extinct valley tribes north of the Fresno River there are no data, but their associations with their own kinsmen to the south, as well as with the upland Miwok, render it extremely probable that the same scheme prevailed among most if not all of them. In fact, the existence of a similar organization among the Mono on the east and probably among the Salinan Indians to the west, together with the reappearance of exogamous moieties in southern California, place the Yokuts more centrally than the Miwok as regards the known distribution of this so-